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/135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenomena described above in this chapter. That is the reason for treating them here. The general traits are the following.

[787] A man or a woman prophesies that the days of the existing rule are numbered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taéna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

668 /136 cont./ kingdom would arise, over which he would rule as prince." Eerdmans, p. 1089.

rouses the people, telling them to prepare themselves for [751] the new era. To this end he offers dijmat /sic; "charms"/ for sale, so that the wearers will be invulnerable and will be able to face the coming disasters safely. He teaches them special signs by which they will be able to recognize each other in the future and by which they will also be recognizable to him whose arrival is foretold and who will make the prophecies come true. As a result he will also be able to make a distinction between them and the rest of the people (2). Sometimes the prophet declares that he himself will

2. "In the wanua /districts/ of Mario riawo and Pettodjo-Soppeng, a certain La Maddidi claims to be the resurrected Petta Barang (Daeng Pabarang) who within a short period of time will take over the rule of the land. All those who at this time already submit to him, that is to say, become his followers, will later not be overwhelmed with misfortune. As followers they receive a symbol (djimat), for which they must pay 2.50 guldens. This will protect them against the time when Petta Barang will become the ruler." (1948). Taken from: Bestuursrapporten /Administrative Reports/, 1949.

668 /136 cont./ become the prince. He will claim that he is a descendant of a certain well-known historical figure whom he mentions by name, or else that the spirit of a certain deceased person has been reborn within him (3). In each

3. See Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen. Reprint of a series of articles from the Soerabaiasch Handelsblad of February 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, and March 2 and 4, 1929, p. 51.

case the named persons are well known as people who successfully fought against a prince or against the government.

There is anticipation of a prince who will rule in a powerful realm where peace will prevail (4). The person

4. "About six months ago, a certain La Djumma, a native of the kampong Barang Barru, spread the rumor that the world would only be peaceful again when Puwang Mallinrunge (Petta Barang) became the ruler, something which would occur not too long from now. All those who were not acquainted with a certain ritual upon the arrival of Petta Barang would be killed. Those who would

668 /136 cont./ want to learn this ritual from him would have to pay him 10.25 guldens."
Taken from:
Bestuursrapporten, 1949.

who makes these forecasts /137/, may be any status or either sex (1), and does not even have to be a Makassarese (2).

1. "In the beginning of 1858, a certain Rantepatola Daeng Matene Karaeng Bontosoengoe and the daughter of the, to us, familiar Aboe Bakara Karaeng Data (son of Sangkilang) and sister of Karaeng Borong, Regent of Tanralili (northern districts) at Bontonompo (Goa), amidst an aura of mystery tried to foretell an imminent great war which was to cost the lives of many people, as well as the arrival of ships on one of which would be Karaeng Data. When she learned that the Prince of Goa was making arrangements to have her arrested, she fled to Kalongkong (Galesong southern districts), where

668/137 cont./ she continued the same performances and prophecies." Eerdmans, pp. 616-617.

2. "In September, 1919, peace was disturbed in the department of Soenggoeminasa for a short period of time by a Chinese, a certain Tjoa Tiong Leng, who also called himself Karaeng Baba and who pretended to be a descendant of Karaeng Data, son of Sangkilang, and therefore tried to get a following as a pseudo-Battara Gowa. Before this following was of any significance, the charlatan and his foremost accomplices were arrested." Eerdmans, p. 1094.

And further: "In November, 1915, the Buginese population of several kampongs in the subdepartment of Kendari were called together by a certain Hadji Abdurachman. This person claimed that he had received the order to call them together from Turkey. He advised the population to keep weapons handy because the

1:Chabot--186 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. [648 643] Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes
668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince. This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility
565 which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure and at the same time by a great insecurity about the
154 individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals
181 content themselves with this so long as they have the opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f. 30 per month, and one meal costs about f. 1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f. 1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
1668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and
203 then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

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Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764